DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 158 898 RC 010 518

AUTHOR Cosby, Arthur G.; And Others
TITLE Education and Work in Rural America: Some Observations and Comments.
INSTITUTION Texas A and M Univ., College Station. Texas Agricultural Experiment Station.
SPONS AGENCY National Inst. of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C.
REPORT NO TAES-H-3141; USDA-CSRS-S-114
PUB DATE Mar 78
GRANT NIE-G-76-0072
NOTE 28p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association (Toronto, Canada, March 1978)

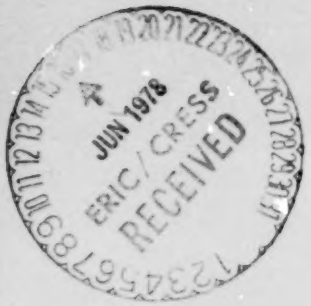
EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 HC-$2.06 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Agricultural Education; Agricultural Occupations; Black Youth; *Demography; *Educational Change; Employment Opportunities; Ethnic Distribution; Literature Reviews; Minority Groups; Occupational Clusters; Private Schools; Regional Characteristics; *Rural Education; *Rural Youth; *School Integration; Stereotypes; Urbanization; Work Attitudes

ABSTRACT

The rural population constitutes a large segment of the total population. Using 1970 census estimates, the total rural population was over 53.8 million people. Of these, 46.4% was less than 25 years of age. Of these 25 million rural youth, about 10.5 million were located in the South and 7.4 million in the North-Central Region. The Northeast and West had substantially smaller proportions. There were 2.3 million Black, 700,000 Spanish heritage, and 300,000 Native American rural youth; the rest were classified as white. Yet substantial numbers of rural Americans suffer from problems of opportunity, achievement, attainment, services and stereotyping. Since the rural economy generally centers around agricultural production and services which support such production, the rural occupation structure is relatively undifferentiated as to types of occupation. Therefore, agricultural education has been expanded to include a wide range of agricultural nonproduction occupations--many of which have as their residential locus the city rather than the farm. Highlighting some issues considered critical to the understanding of education and work in contemporary Rural America, this paper overviews the demography of rural youth with comments on the implication of ethnic, racial, and regional variation; speculates on the growth of higher education in agriculture and the urbanization of the occupational structure of agriculture; discusses the lack of research on racial desegregation of rural schools; and presents some new data on the recent growth of private school enrollment. (NQ)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

- ED158898



DO NOT CITE OR QUOTE WITHOUT
PERMISSION OF SENIOR AUTHOR

RC
15.10

Education and Work in Rural America: Some Observations and Comments*

by

Arthur G. Cosby
Texas A&M University

William W. Falk
Louisiana State University

and

Virginia McDermott
Texas A&M University

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Arthur G. Cosby

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC) AND USERS OF THE ERIC SYSTEM."

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

*Discussion paper prepared for the Thematic Panel: "Education and Work," organized by Ivan Charner, Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Toronto, Canada, March, 1978. The impetus for this manuscript came from involvement in research supported by the National Institute of Education, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, "Career Decisions of Southern Rural Youth: Sex and Race Comparisons," (NIE-G-76-0072) and by the Texas Agricultural Experiment Station, "Defining and Achieving Life's Goals: A Process of Human Resource Development," (TAES H-3141)/USDA CSRS S-114). However, the opinions expressed herein do not necessarily reflect the position as policy of the above agencies and no official endorsement by the agencies should be inferred. Appreciation is expressed to James H. Copp, Audrey Velasquez, Amy Scurlock, Sharon Beger and Geneva Newcomb for their assistance in preparing this manuscript.

RC 01 05 18

Education and Work in Rura. America:
Some Observations and Comments

This paper seeks to address a number of select issues that are viewed by the authors as critical to the understanding of education and work in contemporary Rural America. It should be recognized that a thorough discussion would be exceedingly ambitious and beyond the scope of a single brief presentation. Rather, the paper is by necessity both eclectic and sketchy and consequently, comprehensiveness is neither intended nor realized in the subsequent paper. The goal is only to briefly highlight three or four issues that are selected because of both their apparent current significance and their relative neglect by the educational and social science research communities. More to the point, the manuscript: overviews the demography of rural youth with comments on the implication of ethnic, racial, and regional variation; speculates on the growth of higher education in agriculture and the urbanization of the occupational structure of agriculture; and discusses the lack of research on racial desegregation of rural schools and presents some new data on the recent growth of private school enrollment.

The Demography of Rural Youth

There appears to be a widespread misconception that the rural population represents a small and relatively insignificant segment of the American population. Admittedly, it is a demographic fact that the proportion of Americans classified as rural has consistently decreased with each census since the beginning of the Republic 200 years ago. The basic misunderstanding seems rooted in a generalization that this historic shift from rural to urban dominance and residence has left the rural population as a small, diminished, and insignificant part of the total

U.S. population. A careful examination of census data simply does not support this judgment for either the total rural population or for rural youth. It can be easily shown that both rural adults and rural youth constitute large and important segments of the population. Using 1970 census estimates as a point of reference, the total rural population was over 53.8 million people indicating that about one out of every four Americans are currently residing on a farm, in the open country, or a small town or village. Interestingly, the rural youth population is no less substantial. Nearly one-half (46.4%) of the total rural population in 1970 was less than 25 years of age--a figure indicating approximately 25 million rural youth in America (Jimenez, 1974). These figures clearly demonstrate that rural Americans comprise a significant population and hardly represent a small unimportant segment of the total U.S. population.

Not only does the rural youth population constitute a very large part of the total youth population, there is evidence emerging which strongly suggests that rural areas are now growing faster than urban ones and that the long-term trend toward urban dominance may have reversed (Beale, 1975). Since 1970, rural areas have shown substantial higher rates of growth than urban areas. In addition, national poll data indicates a possibly huge reservoir of preferences for rural life even among urban groups. Since 1968, for example, Gallop poll data has indicated that over 50 percent of the U.S. population prefer to live in a rural area while only about one-half of that percentage actually do (Cosby and Howard, 1975).

From a geographic point of view, the numbers of rural youth are not evenly distributed across the nation (Figure 1). The Southern Region is seen as an especially strategic area since it represents the largest concentration. Of the approximately 25 million rural youth, about 10.5

million or just under 50 percent of the total rural youth population is located in the Southern U.S. The North-Central Region represents the only other substantial concentration with about 7.4 million or 30 percent of the total rural youth population (Upham and Jimenez, 1973; Jimenez, 1974). Both the Northeast and West have substantially smaller proportions of the total.

Ethnically, the vast majority of rural youth are classified by the census as White. Using 1970 estimates, approximately 88 percent of the rural youth population was found to be White and only 12 percent were classified as ethnic minorities (Figure 1). There were 2.3 million Blacks (9 percent), 700,000 Spanish heritage (3 percent) and 300,000 Native Americans (1 percent) in the rural youth population total (Jimenez, 1974). Whereas White youth are distributed in dominant numbers throughout all regions of the nation, ethnic minorities tend to be concentrated in specific areas. Rural Black youth are almost exclusively a southern phenomenon. Ninety-six percent of all rural Black youth are found in the 16 southern states (Figure 2). Within this region the states with the highest concentration are Mississippi, South Carolina, Louisiana, Georgia, Alabama, North Carolina, Virginia and Texas (Upham and Jimenez, 1973). In these states, the percentages of rural Black youth generally range between a quarter and one-third of the states' total rural youth population. Rural Spanish-heritage youth tend to be located in the western region and Texas. The combined total for these states is over three-quarters of the entire rural Spanish-heritage youth population. Likewise, Native Americans are concentrated in the western and southern regions which share a combined total of 80 percent of that segment of the rural youth population.

The most obvious consequence of overviewing the foregoing data on current rural populations is that the figures counter any misconception that rural folk and consequently rural students make up only a small and relatively unimportant segment of the total U.S. population. Clearly, the rural areas are providing a substantial part of the nation's labor supply and probably will continue to do so in the foreseeable future. It also follows that the nature and quality of rural schools will have a strong impact upon the talent and effectiveness of this very sizeable labor pool. At this point, the argument is strong to view the relationship between education and work in Rural America as a national issue of some significance.

Other noteworthy characteristics also emerge from the data. There are tremendous ethnic and regional variations in the rural population that imply even more important cultural and social differences. William P. Kuvlesky (1977) has pointed to diversity of background, cultural heritage, values and aspirations, and Jonathan P. Sher (1977) to the "pluralism in the countryside" as characteristic of rural society. The point is that rural America is so heterogeneous that generalization about rural students and rural education is, at best, a risky enterprise. The regional experiences of writers on Rural America seem to be heavily colored by the composition of the rural population in their region and their treatment of issues to parallel salient problems of that region. For example, Kuvlesky of Texas A&M University reflects the quadraethnic composition of the Southwest in his recent report, Rural Youth in the U.S., by giving considerable emphasis to ethnic and racial minorities. While important to the Southwest and the South, this treatment has little application to the Northeast and Midwest. On the other hand, Sher and his co-authors

(most of whom are associated with the Harvard Graduate School of Education) reflect in our opinion a distinctive White, Northeastern perspective in their Education in Rural America. This is especially evident in their otherwise brilliant essay on consolidation where the extremely important link between consolidation patterns and desegregation of southern rural schools is completely omitted.

Rural Folk as a Minority

In the relatively brief history of social science and educational research, one finds a continual interest in questions of social stratification. From Marx on, sociologists have sought explanations for and done research on issues of social-structural inequality. As sociology became institutionalized in America, the more general interest in societal inequality was shifted to focus more specifically on the plight of the Negro. In the last fifty years or so, this sharper focus has come to include many groups, some of which are primarily generic categories, not necessarily distinct racial or ethnic groups; thus we have research on Indians, the hyphenated Americans (c.f., Italians, Mexicans, Poles, Japanese, etc.), and others but we also have come to include as subjects of inequality such groups as women, senior citizens and youth. In each case the sociological concept often applied to the group under study has been "minority." In this application, the concept minority has not necessarily meant a numerical minority; rather, it has referred to numerical prevalence as one consideration among many. In every case, minority status has carried with it some form of differential treatment. Wirth uses such phrases as "differential and unequal treatment ... objects of collective discrimination ... a corresponding dominant group ... exclusion from full participation in the life of the society" (Wirth, 1945:347).

In their more extended and inclusive discussion, Wagley and Harris state that (1) minorities are subordinate segments of complex state societies; (2) minorities have special physical or cultural traits which are held in low esteem by dominant segments of the society; (3) minorities are self-conscious units bound together by the special traits which their members share and by the special disabilities which these bring; (4) membership in a minority is transmitted by a rule of descent which is capable of affiliating succeeding generations even in the absence of readily apparent special cultural or physical traits; and (5) minority peoples, by choice or necessity, tend to marry within the group (Wagley and Harris, 1964:10).

A theme underlying the following discussion is that rural America is dominated by the larger urban sector, and one result of this urban dominance has been for rural folk to resemble in many respects a minority group. Like most other minorities, it can be readily documented that substantial numbers of rural Americans suffer from problems of opportunity, achievement, attainment, services, and stereotyping when contrasted to comparable urbanites. Perhaps the most evident difference in rural urban opportunity structure occurs in the nature of the sharply differing economic and occupational structures associated with place of residence. The rural economy generally centers around agricultural production and services which support such production, while the urban economy is by comparison extremely diversified with a much wider range of goods and services. One consequence of such differences is that the rural occupational structure is relatively undifferentiated in terms of types of occupations, whereas the urban structure has a substantially larger universe of occupational types, reflecting both a greater diversity and specialization in work roles (Lipset, 1955; Lipset and Bendix, 1959).

At the individual level of analysis these varying occupational structures may have negative implications for rural youth in their competition for available jobs. Obviously, if rural youth choose to remain in rural locale, there will be fewer types of jobs that they can realistically consider. The historical trend has been for rural youth to migrate in large numbers to the city seeking jobs. This long-term trend suggests that for much of U.S. history, rural youth have perceived the urban area as having a more favorable job market. Migration as a type of social behavior is in one sense a disparity factor for rural youth because it represents a difficult and possibly disruptive prerequisite for rural youth seeking employment, but not for the urban. The rural youth who migrates must learn to cope with what may be a new and strange urban environment at the same time he is competing for jobs. It should also be recognized that the urban student may receive an advantage from a closer proximity to the urban job market. The potential seems greater for the urban student to have access through friends and relatives to informal knowledge about available jobs.

Perhaps the most enlightening point of departure in developing the argument for a rural minority lies in a linguistic contrast of slang terms used to refer to rural and urban folk.

In contrast to the hinterlands of Europe, the notion of "peasant" or "peasantry" has never developed as a meaningful concept for rural America. The term "peasant" is generally considered to be derogatory, possibly resulting from ideas developed in association with the democratic and egalitarian society. Newton's (1966) interpretation of linguistic surveys is that rural America has no peasants but rather "plain folk". Cultural geographer E. Estyn Evans believes that some peasant values do

exist, but the avoidance of the term "peasant" has resulted in many labels which describe rural life and rural people. The cultural characteristics which are contained in the concepts used to describe rural and urban folk may be seen as a dichotomy between Urban = Superior and Rural = Inferior.

In our opinion, an examination of terms used to describe the rural population indicates not only an inferior or insignificant part of society, but it also indicates a tendency to not take them seriously. This trend is evident in the nature of knowledge that the larger society has about rural folk. Just as other minorities are stereotyped by the larger society, knowledge about rural folk is remarkably stereotypical in nature. Such knowledge generally carries a negative connotation and represents an urban "put down" of rural people in rural life. This is readily evident in the slang terms used to refer to rural folk: "Hicks", "Rednecks", "Plow-boys", "Hillbillies", "Crackers", "Shit-kickers", "Okies", "Clod-hoppers", "Goat-ropers", "Hayseeds", and of course, "Good Ol' Boys". This stereotypical knowledge extends into almost every supposed aspect of life in the hinterlands. When "hicks" are not spending their time driving tractors or picking hayseeds out of their hair, they are driving pick-up trucks, chewing tobacco, voting for George Wallace, frying chicken to go with their black-eyed peas, sending donations to Billy Graham or Garner Ted Armstrong, humming "Honkey Tonk Angel", coon hunting, square dancing, quilting, corn-husking, swatting flies, whittling; playing a guitar, fighting Communism, cleaning their shotguns, going to Sunday meetin', putting on mud flaps, eating catfish and hush puppies, establishing close relationships with their farm animals, or being interviewed by out-house counters. For those of you who feel that the notion of rural-urban differences is simply an artifact of the misguided imagination of a few

sociologists, we challenge you to construct a comparable list of stereotypical terms for urban folk. While the above exercise may be a little amusing and perhaps suggests a new parlor game, it does highlight in exaggerated form, the derogatory and stereotypical conceptions that many hold about the rural areas.

It is beyond the purpose of this paper to present a carefully articulated theoretical argument for why rural people may be justifiably called a minority; however, if we briefly consider statements made by Wirth and Wagley and Harris, it is rather clear that rural folk may qualify for this ignoble status. As discussed earlier, one is hard-pressed to think of a group in American society for whom we have more derogative expressions. In fact, it is difficult to think of any other nonethnic group (or, for that matter, ethnic group) for whom we have such an extensive repertoire of descriptive terms; at least in American society, it may be double jeopardy to be both Black and rural, the negative conotations to both being, perhaps, somewhat interrelated. Are those we call "rural" subject to differential and unequal treatment?, objects of collective discrimination?, bearing cultural traits held in low esteem?. affected by the transmission of a rule of descent? Although admittedly oversimplified the answer to these questions is partly found in our list of descriptive terms--"Shit-kicker" and "Plow-boys" seem sufficiently colorful to give some indication of being categorized as "different". Furthermore, the institutionalization of such organizations as the Rural Education Association and the Rural Sociological Society offer evidence of a shared sentiment that, indeed, rural is unique. Finally, in very recent years we have begun to see a romanticization of things rural to the point that, to paraphrase Fanon, rather than the "wretched of the earth" we have

begun to get the "hip of the earth". But in no uncertain terms, rural as a distinct phenomenon remains, and we suspect it remains largely in the status of a minority.

The Urbanization of Professional Agriculture

Just as there are many misconceptions about the nature of rural youth populations and rural education, there also appears to be a similar lack of information about the emerging nature of professional agriculture as an occupational cluster. This is especially true of the transformation to an urbanized agricultural occupational structure. Since the early 1960's, enrollment in Colleges of Agriculture has been growing rapidly. For example, agricultural majors at the seventy-seven Land Grant Universities increased from about thirty-five thousand in 1963 to slightly over one hundred thousand in 1978. This indicates a 15 year increase of 285 percent in enrollment of agriculture majors. Perhaps of even more significance is that the rapid growth was maintained through the first six years of the 1970's when overall university growth was stabilizing (Hensley, 1976). This growth strongly suggests an increasing demand for agriculture professionals in the economy.

This rapid growth can be somewhat better understood when it is recognized that it has been accompanied by some fundamental changes in the function and composition of the colleges. For example, agricultural colleges no longer serve the limited function of training farmers and associated workers in the technical and scientific aspects of food and fiber production. In fact, only a small minority of today's agriculture majors expect to ever farm as a primary occupation. The function of agricultural colleges has expanded from the farm-training core to include the extremely broad area of what might best be thought of as the arena

of "biological engineering". That is, Colleges of Agriculture have been developing expertise in practically any arena where the biological world is thought by society to need alteration or control. This new function has resulted in a remarkable diversity of agricultural specializations. Students now major in Horticulture and Floriculture as career training to manage florist shops, nurseries, lawn care centers, garden centers and landscape design services. Students in Agricultural Economics are prepared for specialties in agricultural finance, rural development, and resource economics. Majors in Animal Science may be preparing to manage pet care centers; majors in Food Technology to manage restaurants. In addition to the above traditional departments, new areas such as Recreation and Parks, Wildlife and Fisheries Science, and Forestry have developed as strong and important departments of what loosely falls under the rubric of agricultural education. One net effect of these changes is clearly that Colleges of Agriculture are engaged in much more than the traditional concerns of food and fiber production. Rather, they represent training areas for a wide range of agricultural nonproduction occupations--many of which have as their residential locus the city rather than the farm. In this sense, the function of agricultural education has expanded to the point that in terms of numbers of students, direct food and fiber production, as farming, is a minority career option.

This change in function is closely paralleled by some dramatic changes in the composition of the student body. Although the information is sketchy, conventional wisdom has been that the vast majority of agricultural students only two decades ago were farmboys. Today a different student body is much in evidence. In a recent survey of agricultural majors in fourteen Land Grant Universities, only 22 percent

of the students indicated that they had lived on a farm most of their life. In fact, considerably more (35 percent) came from cities of over fifty thousand. More recently the colleges have become less the domain of males. Since 1970, it is estimated that the female enrollment has increased from about one or two percent to approximately 30 percent of the total enrollment. Both residential and sex trends strongly suggest the urbanization of agricultural colleges and that the composition of the student body more closely represents a cross-section of the American population than that of the rural sector (Cosby, et al., 1977).

A recent empirical study of the prestige of agricultural occupations (Cosby and Frank, 1978) suggests that the increased complexity, specificity, and diversity characteristics of the general American occupational structure are also reflected in the agricultural situs. This investigation of fifty agriculture-type occupations resulted in an array of prestige rankings along most of the prestige spectrum. This demonstrates that agricultural occupations hardly represent a monolithic prestige category but rather that they are composed of many occupations that are perceived as having various degrees of social standing. Also as is the case with general occupational ratings, the study reveals that among agricultural occupations, the professional, technical, and managerial jobs tended to receive the highest prestige scores, and occupations involving unskilled and manual labor tended to receive the lowest ratings. In this sense, the prestige scale bracketed the range from "veterinarian" to "migratory laborer" (see Table 1).

Interestingly, most professional and technical positions ranked above farming occupations. It is possible that the lower ratings given farmers may be associated with the relatively lower evaluations associated with

the perception of a manual labor component intrinsic to farming. The only traditional agricultural production occupation that received a high rating was the highly romanticized occupation of "cattle raiser". Agricultural occupations that involved a high degree of manual labor such as migratory laborers and farm hands were given the lowest ratings.

Tentatively, it seems that the occupational hierarchy is generally pervasive throughout groups and subclassifications among agriculture students. Thus, a rather lengthy analysis of prestige scores by sex and indicators of farm background failed to result in any drastically different prestige hierarchies. Both male and female students, both urbanites and students from farms, both students from families who owned farms and those from families who did not were apparently viewing a similar prestige hierarchy of agricultural occupations. The most notable exception to this generalization was for women agriculture students to give slightly higher prestige evaluations to scientific, humanistic and aesthetic occupations.

Rural Desegregation and the Growth of Private Schools

From the point of view of the researcher, one of the more regrettable examples of how society has not taken rural youth seriously is the appalling lack of sound research information on racial desegregation of southern rural schools. It should be recalled that as recently as the late 60's, the vast majority of southern rural students were attending dual, completely segregated schools, yet by the mid 1970's, practically all were attending desegregated institutions. The process seems to have occurred through a relatively simple consolidation of county-wide school systems. We estimate that the process involved the desegregation of as many as six million youth. The point at hand is that the desegregation of southern youth has been

hardly a trivial affair. Not only has it been massive and nearly complete, it also may represent the most dramatic and fundamental social change in education during this century. Given the significance of this massive change, it is difficult to understand why the pages of major educational and sociological research journals are generally void of reports on this topic. The consequences are we simply do not know the process or understand the results.

Desegregation seems to have progressed in the rural south at a faster than anticipated pace in the absence of educational and social research. Why then the concern? There are several things of value that might be accomplished if more were known about the process. First, what benefits and costs were experienced by the involved youth? Were increased opportunities realized? Have rural-urban differences in opportunity decreased? Has desegregation in the educational areas transferred into other institutional arenas?

One unresearched reaction to the desegregation of rural schools has been the "White flight" of rural white youth to urban and suburban school districts which have remained largely segregated. Also there has been a very discernible increase in the enrollment in private elementary and secondary schools. In Table 2, the growth of public and nonpublic schools in the southern U.S. between 1966 and 1976 is detailed. If we first look at public school enrollment, we find that the dominant pattern is for a slight decrease in public school enrollment. Certain states such as Alabama, Florida and Mississippi show fairly substantial decreases and two states, Texas and Virginia, show modest increases in enrollment. However, the modal pattern is one of slight decline. On the other hand, nonpublic school enrollment has increased substantially since 1966 in

most southern states. Substantial increases of over 100 percent were found for the Cotton Belt states of Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina and South Carolina. Only Kentucky and Texas had decreases in private school enrollment. One additional figure must be taken into account. This overall southern pattern in private school enrollment is running counter to a national trend where private school enrollment is on the decrease. The implications are clear that these figures are estimates of the growth of segregated all-White private schools. As far as we know, no substantial research program is underway to investigate this trend.

The estimates that are currently available on private school enrollment are not broken down into rural and urban categories. In Table 3, we carry out some additional analyses that attempt to crudely relate the increases in private school enrollment with rural residence, percent Black, and the poverty level of the twelve southern states. A simple correlation of .60 was found between percent rural and change in private school enrollment, indicating that private schools are more apt to develop in the more rural states. In similar fashion, a very strong correlation of .78 was found between percent Black and change in enrollment, strongly supporting the hypothesis that the growth of private schools is a form of "White flight". Also, a somewhat smaller correlation of .38 was found between an indicator of the poverty level and the growth of private schools, indicating the paradox that private schools are more apt to appear in those states with the most poor people and perhaps who are the least able to support an additional private school system.

Some Final Comments

In a paper such as this that addresses issues that are both broad and eclectic can hardly be concluded with a neat and ordered summary.

Many of the topics so hastily covered in the preceding pages may have far reaching implications beyond that indicated. For example, we would like to briefly examine the policy implication of one of the four major issues we addressed.

We have already noted that there is a substantial growth in southern private elementary and secondary schools. We estimate this growth to be at the magnitude of approximately three hundred thousand students. Some initial analysis along with our subjective experiences tell us that this much growth in private enrollment is largely a result or reaction to racial desegregation. That is, we believe that we are measuring the re-segregation of the South through all-White private academies. Currently before Congress there is considerable support for an educational bill that includes financial support for private elementary and secondary schools through a tax credit of $250 to $500 to the families of students who attend those schools. Many opponents to this bill base their argument on need to maintain the separation of church and state since they assume that most private school enrollment is associated with parochial school education.

Our data points to an interesting policy implication; it appears that government programs that support private education would also indirectly support the resegregation of southern schools to some degree. If the tax credit were to be $500 and our three hundred thousand segregation-inspired estimates are correct, then the tax credit to private schools would result in a $150 million per year supplement to segregated schools in ten southern states alone. Also since there appears to be considerable impetus for growth in private school enrollment, the tax credit would most likely promote additional high rates in that area, and result in increased support by the federal government for this dubious educational activity.

REFERENCES

Beale, Calvin
1975 "Rural-Urban Growth Patterns in America." Seminar presented for the Rural Development Series, Extension Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C.

Cosby, A.G. and Lianne M. Frank
1978 "A Prestige Scale for Agricultural Occupations." Edward McLean (ed.) Rural Sociology in the South 1978 (forthcoming).

Cosby, Arthur G. and William G. Howard
1976 "Residential Preferences in America: The Growing Desire for Rural Life." Seminar paper presented for the Rural Development Series, Extension Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C.

Dewey, R.
1960 "The Rural-Urban Continuum: Real but Relatively Unimportant." American Journal of Sociology 66:60-66.

Hensley, Norma
1976 "Agricultural enrollment in the National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges Member Institutions." A report to the Resident Instruction Section, Division of Agriculture, Washington, D.C.

Jimenez, Luis A.
1974 The Ethnic Composition of Rural Youth in the United States: General Characteristics and Regional Comparisons. Prarie View A&M University, Cooperative Research Center, Information Report No. 73-3.

Kuvlesky, William P.
1977 Rural Youth in the U.S.A.: Profile of an Ignored Minority. Texas A&M University, Department of Rural Sociology, Departmental Report No. 77-3.

Sher, Jonathan P. (ed.)
1977 Education in Rural America - A Reassessment of Conventional Wisdom. Westover Press, Boulder Colorado.

Upham, W. Kennedy and Luis Jimenez
1973 Rural Youth in the South: The Population Under Age 25. Prarie View A&M University, Cooperative Research Center, Information Report No. 73-1.

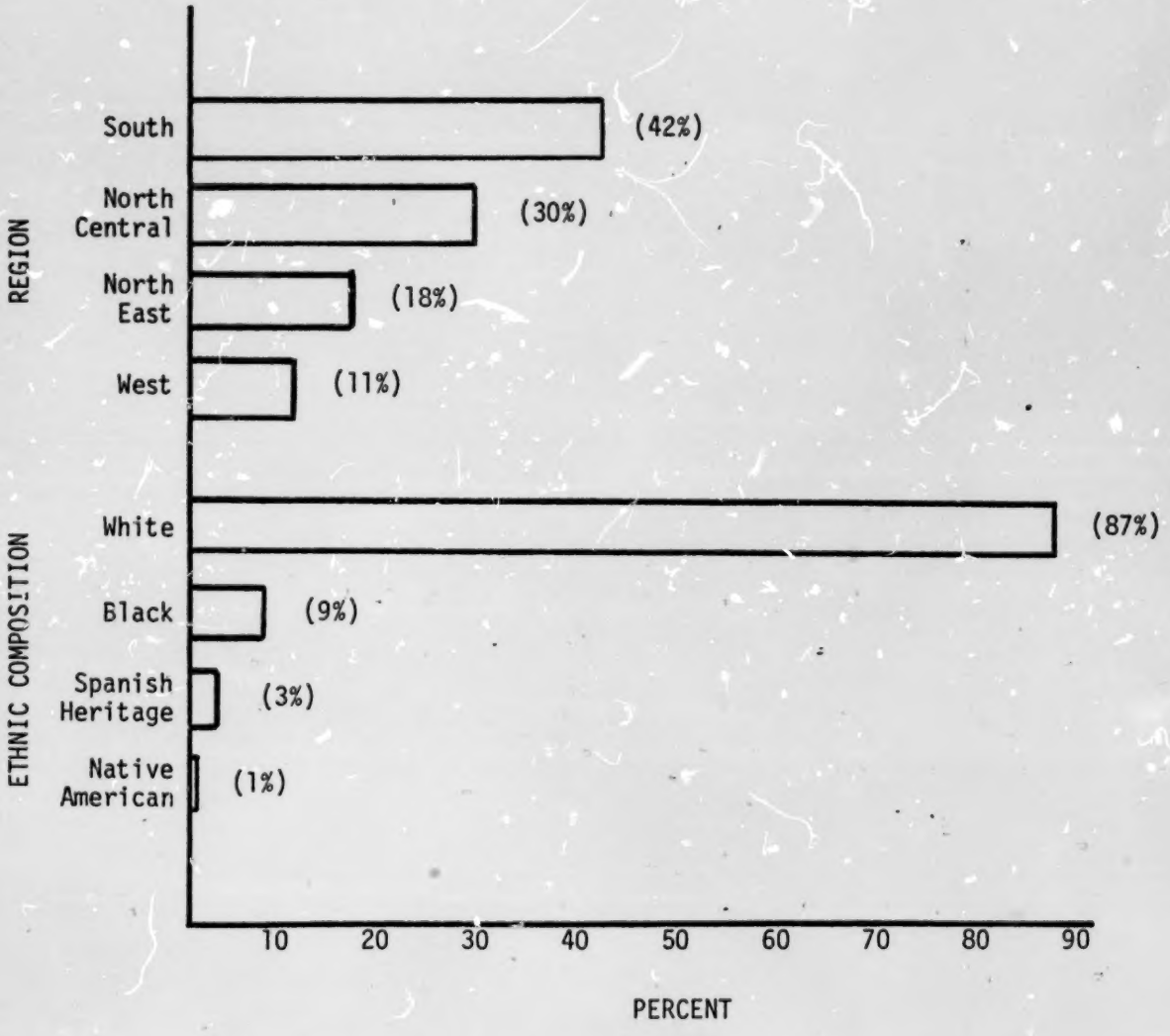
U.S. Bureau of the Census
1970 Number of Inhabitants Fiscal Report - Southern States. U.S. Printing Office, Washington, D.C.

Wagley, C. and M. Harris
1964 Minorities in the New World. New York: Columbia University Press.

Wirth, L.
1945 In. R. Linton (ed.), The Science of Man in World Crisis. New York: Columbia University Press.

Figure 1.

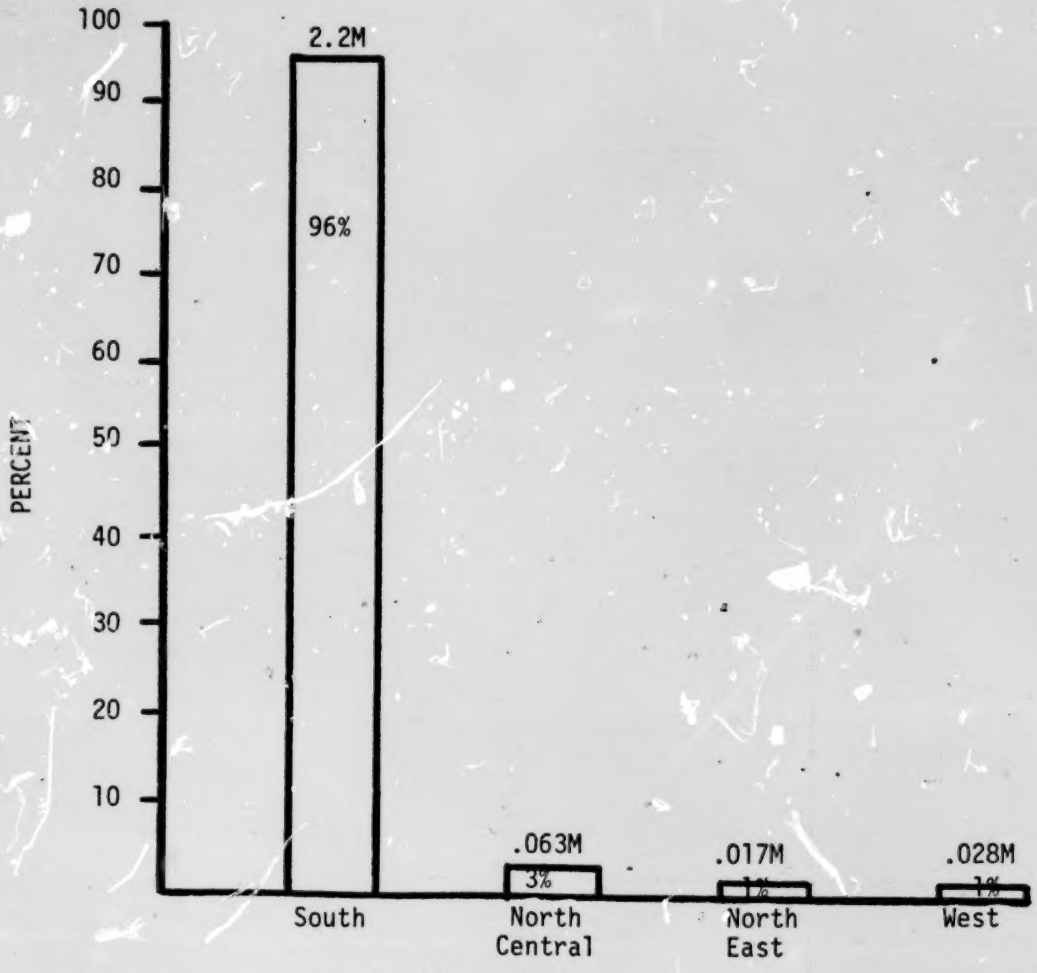
Regional and Ethnic Variations of the Rural Youth Population (Under 25 years) in the United States: 1970 U.S. Census of Population[a]



[a]Source: Luis A. Jimenez, "The Ethnic Composition of Rural Youth in the United States: General Characteristics and Regional Comparisons"; Prairie View A&M University, Cooperative Research Center, Information Report No. 73-3. U.S. Bureau of the Census, "1970 Census of Population Fourth Count Summary Tape". Processed at Texas A&M University Computer Center.

Figure 2.

Black Rural Youth Population (under 25 years) in the United States by Region: 1970[a]



[a] Source: Luis A. Jimenez, "The Ethnic Composition of Rural Youth in the United States: General Characteristics and Regional Comparisons"; Prairie View A&M University, Cooperative Research Center, Information Report No. 73-3. U.S. Bureau of the Census, "1970 Census of Population Fourth Count Summary Tape". Processed at Texas A&M University Computer Center.

TABLE 1. The Prestige of Agricultural Occupations: Sample of 2,392 Southern Agriculture Students. (cont.)

Occupation	Prestige Scores	Rank	NORC Scores
Florist	65.0	32	--
Housewife*	64.9	33	--
Rural Sociologist	64.5	34	--
Fruit Inspector	64.1	35	--
Restaurant Manager	64.0	36	--
Farm Implement Salesman	63.8	37	--
Crop Duster	63.7	38	--
Home Economist	63.4	39	--
Slaughterhouse Manager	63.0	40	--
Peace Corps Member	62.9	41	--
County Home Demo Agent	62.2	42	--
Rice Grower	62.0	43	--
Railroad Engineer*	60.5	44	77
Jockey	60.0	45	--
Pest Exterminator	58.3	46	--
Undertaker*	56.6	47	72
Incubator Man	55.8	48	--
Railroad Conductor*	53.3	49	67
Rodeo Cowboy	53.0	50	--
Hay Baler	52.6	51	--
Farm Hand	52.4	52	50
Tenant Farmer	47.2	53	68
Groundskeeper	47.0	54	--
Machine Operator*	45.5	55	60
Sharecropper	43.1	56	40
Killfloor Worker	41.9	57	--
Filling Station Attendant*	38.8	58	52
Clothes Presser in Laundry*	34.3	59	46
Migratory Farm Worker	34.0	60	--

*Selected non-agriculture occupations used for reference points to General Occupational Structure

TABLE 1, The Prestige of Agricultural Occupations: Sample of 2,392 Southern Agriculture Students.

Occupation	Prestige Scores	Rank	NORC Scores
Veterinarian	92.7	1	--
Physician*	91.5	2	93
U.S. Secretary of Agriculture	89.4	3	--
Dean of Agriculture	86.4	4	--
Nuclear Physicist*	85.1	5	86
Professor in Agriculture	82.1	6	--
Landscape Architect	79.8	7	--
USDA Researcher	78.8	8	--
Wildlife Refuge Manager	78.0	9	--
Farm Manager	77.2	10	--
Biologist	77.0	11	81
Government Scientist	76.8	12	88
Soil Conservationist	75.5	13	--
Plant Nursery Owner	75.3	14	--
Cattle Raiser	75.1	15	--
Ecologist	74.4	16	--
County Agriculture Agent	74.4	17	77
Agriculture Economist	74.3	18	--
Agriculture Loan Officer	72.7	19	--
Newspaper Agriculture Editor	70.9	20	--
Soybean Grower	69.2	21	--
Tree Farmer	69.0	22	--
Feed Store Owner	69.0	23	--
Horse Trainer	68.5	24	--
High School Vocational Ag. Teacher	68.4	25	--
Cotton Grower	68.4	26	--
Swine Raiser	66.5	27	--
Peanut Grower	65.9	28	--
Tree Surgeon	65.9	29	--
Poultry Raiser	65.7	30	--
Dietician	65.6	31	--

TABLE 2: The Growth of Non-Public Schools in Southern U.S.: 1966-1976.

	Public School Enrollment Base-1968	Change in Public Enrollment: 1968-1973	Change in Public Enrollment: 1968-1976	Non-Public Schools Enrollment Base-1966	Change in Non-Public Enrollment: 1966-1973	Change in Non-Public Enrollment: 1966-1976
Total U.S. Population	44,961,662	+ 0.8	- 1.2	6,304,772	- 22.2	- 16.0
Alabama	831,661	- 6.8	- 38.6	30,350	+ 71.7	+ 85.8
Arkansas	453,314	+ 0.8	- 0.07	13,252	- 12.5	+ 57.0
Florida	1,355,846	- 24.0	- 13.3	94,381	+ 14.0	+ 56.4
Georgia	1,103,306	- 2.2	- 1.8	28,147	+ 8.4	+ 144.3
Kentucky	698,790	+ 1.3	- 2.1	93,428	- 35.6	- 23.6
Louisiana	864,765	- 3.2	- 3.0	142,822	- 5.4	+ 16.2
Mississippi	581,734	- 10.6	- 13.0	21,521	+ 203.4	+ 208.1
North Carolina	1,195,258	- 3.9	- 1.9	22,603	+ 20.3	+ 151.3
South Carolina	648,694	- 4.9	- 4.9	16,424	+ 78.4	+ 200.8
Tennessee	883,500	- 0.05	- 1.5	35,167	- 4.5	+ 27.1
Texas	2,704,000	- 0.2	+ 3.2	161,025	- 27.2	- 16.0
Virginia	1,055,606	+ 0.3	+ 3.8	62,884	+ 0.7	+ 42.8

Source: National Center for Education Statistics, Digest of Education Statistics--1968, 1973, 1976

TABLE 3: The Relationship between Growth of Private Schools, Percent Black and Percent Rural in the South: 1966-1976.

	Percent Rural (Rank)	Percent Black (Rank)	Percent Families Less than Poverty Level (Rank)	Change in Non-Public Enrollment 1966-1976 (Rank)
Total U.S.	26.5 (--)	11.1 (--)	10.7 (--)	- 16.0 (--)
Alabama	41.6 (6)	26.2 (4)	20.7 (4)	+ 85.8 (5)
Arkansas	50.0 (4)	18.3 (8)	22.8 (2)	+ 57.0 (6)
Florida	19.5 (12)	15.3 (10)	12.7 (11)	+ 56.4 (7)
Georgia	39.7 (8)	25.7 (5)	16.7 (8)	+144.3 (4)
Kentucky	47.7 (5)	7.1 (12)	19.2 (5)	- 23.6 (12)
Louisiana	33.9 (10)	29.8 (3)	21.5 (3)	+ 16.2 (10)
Mississippi	55.5 (1)	36.8 (1)	28.9 (1)	+208.1 (1)
North Carolina	55.0 (2)	22.2 (6)	16.3 (9)	+151.3 (3)
South Carolina	52.4 (3)	30.4 (2)	19.0 (6)	+200.8 (2)
Tennessee	41.3 (7)	15.8 (9)	18.2 (7)	+ 27.1 (9)
Texas	20.3 (11)	12.5 (11)	14.6 (10)	- 16.0 (11)
Virginia	36.9 (9)	18.5 (7)	12.3 (12)	+ 42.8 (8)

Source: National Center for Education Statistics, Digest of Education Statistics--1968, 1973, 1976